

Christian Subjects Duty
TO HIS
LAWFUL PRINCE
IN A
SERMON

PREACHED
January the 30th 1755
AT
ST. ETHELBERG

By LUKE MILBURN, Rector
of St. Ethelburg's

*Adhuc vobis usque a Carolo V. capto sunt
omnes primae etiam Bonis, in Gallia
etiam in Constantia, tertio octavo, et
quarto vobis, tandem cruciatum, cum
omnibus, in Belgia indim Cruxium
omnibus, et fidei et alia non possunt
etiam in Belgia*

Im. Bonifacii Epistolae ad Joannem
Joannem Constantium filium

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[illegible]

John xviii. 36.

Jesus answer'd, *My Kingdom is not of this World: If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews: But now is my Kingdom not from hence.*

THIS Text contains the Reply of the blessed Jesus, now brought before Pontius Pilate, the Roman President of Judea, to that Accusation which the Scribes, and Pharisees, and Chief Priests, had brought against him: Their crafty Malice troubled not Pilate much, with the Story of his assuming to himself the Title of *the Son of God*, and so making himself *equal with God*; nor with his pretending to be *the Christ*, who had been promis'd in elder Days to redeem Israel from their Sins: These would have been idle and impertinent Tales, to one wholly unacquainted with the Principles of the Jewish Religion; whose Business it was only to take Care of the Roman Interests in Judea, and how to please his Master Tiberius, who had vested in him so very great a Trust.

His Enemies therefore charge him with asserting, that he himself was *Christ, a King*, and therefore with forbidding Men to pay Tribute to Caesar. These Accusations indeed, if they would but stick, were very material; and Pilate, as a Substitute of Caesar's, was bound to vindicate his Master's Right and Title to the Government of Judea, against any Pretenders whosoever. Pilate, as ill a Man as he was, was not so thoroughly satisfy'd of the Veracity of our Lord's Accusers, as to take every Thing they laid against him, upon Trust, or upon their Honesty, but he examines the Prisoner himself. Pilate saw well enough, that the outward Appearance of the *holy Jesus*, was such as could not threaten much Danger to the mighty Powers of the Roman Empire; a Man who did not take upon him to make Alliances with any of the Enemies of Rome; who pretended not either to raise Forces in Judea, or to depend on any foreign Assurances, nor to carry any thing of Pride or irregular Ambition in his Mien or Behaviour; nay, a Man who had not so much as where to lay his Head, did not seem very likely to set up for Royalty, or, at that Time of Day, to assume the Imperial Character.

When Pilate first ask'd these pious Patriots, what Accusation they brought against the Prisoner, they seem to stand very much upon their Reputation; *If, say they, he were not a Malefactor, we would not have deliver'd him up to thee.* No, good Men! they were admir'd by the poor deluded Multitude, for their imaginary Holiness, Mortification, Self-Denial, and all the showy Parts of Religion; and sure they could be no Deceivers; they never

knew what Malice, Jealousy, Faction, or Ambition meant; and therefore, had they not been abundantly appriz'd of the Prisoner's notorious Guilt, they'd never have prosecuted him before so just and so discerning a Governor as Pilate was. They tell him, indeed, that *they had a Law*, and that by that Law he *ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God*; but that was only by the By, and they would not insist upon it before him; and, perhaps, they who bolted out that Accusation, had no great Thanks from their more politick Companions, since, by that Insinuation, Pilate easily discover'd that Jesus was put into his Hands only out of Envy; and he, to fit them in their own Way, bids them *take him and judge him by that Law of theirs*; but Providence having determin'd Matters otherwise, the leading Jews very warily declare themselves to have no Power in their present conquer'd State, to put any Man to Death; and, that he might take that Judgment into his own Hands, they accuse him, either of setting up a Title to the Roman Empire for himself, or, at least, to the Monarchy of Judea, independent of the Roman Sovereignty. Now, had he really appear'd, in outward Circumstances, any Way agreeable to such a Pretence, he then had been that very Person, whom they, his Accusers, look'd for: They foolishly hop'd, that the expected Messiah would have made their Jerusalem the glorious Seat of an universal worldly Empire; but while they themselves despis'd his servile Garb, as incapable of any such extraordinary Undertakings, they had yet the malicious Confidence to put him upon Pilate, as one likely enough to overturn the Roman State.

Pilate views him as one so little likely to effect any such wonderful Changes in the Roman World, that he fairly puts the Question to the blessed Jesus: *Art thou the King of the Jews?* Our Lord asks him, whether he propos'd that Question of himself, or mov'd by the Report of others? To which, Pilate returns, with Calmness enough, *Am I a Jew? i. e. Am I one who, from any such Principles as I am wholly unacquainted with, could have any Jealousy of thee? Thine own Nation, and the Chief Priests, have deliver'd thee unto me; What hast thou done? Or, by what Practices of thine, hast thou put it into the Heads of thy Country-men, that they should charge thee with setting up thy self for a King?* The blessed Jesus takes no Notice of the spiteful Clamours of the Jews; but, in his Answer to Pilate, owns himself to be a King, but no such King as, at whose ambitious Endeavours, the Roman Emperor could take any just Umbrage: It was plain that he had never made Use of those Methods, by which others us'd to aspire to worldly Grandeur: No, says he, *for if my Kingdom had been of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews; but now is my Kingdom not from hence.* By which Words, he intimates, that if he had pretended to a worldly Empire, the Jews were none of those over whom he pretended to reign; for the

the *President* himself might see that they were his declar'd Enemies; and they being so, if he had had any worldly Subjects, or Servants, any such as own'd him their Lord and Sovereign, they would have been on his Side, and, according to the Duty of Servants, would have assisted and defended him against the Insults of the *Jews*, his barbarous and irreconcilable Enemies. All this *Pilate* knew well enough; in discoursing with him in this Manner, our Lord did not talk with him out of his Reach, but prov'd his Kingdom not to be of this World, by that very Argument which *Pilate*, if call'd upon to that Purpose, would have made Use of, to prove himself the true and faithful Subject and Servant of *Tiberius Cesar*. From this Answer, then, of our Master to *Pilate*, we learn, that

The Subjects, or Servants, of all lawful Princes, are oblig'd, by the very Nature of Government, and the Agreement of all Mankind, to endeavour, by Force of Arms, if otherwise they cannot, to rescue and defend their Sovereigns from any Injuries offer'd them by any of their Enemies.

This is what he, who could not deceive, nor be deceiv'd, laid before the *Roman Governor*, as an *Hypothesis* upon which he might build a valid Argument, to prove his own Innocence, as to that Crime which his Enemies charg'd him with, and as a Truth which *Pilate*, tho' an ignorant Heathen, was as well apprised of as any Man. It's true, our Lord was silent, as to other Things alledg'd against him, and to some Questions propos'd to him; for had he answer'd them directly, and cloath'd his Answer with all that Brightness of Wisdom and Eloquence, which he, as Man, was Master of, the Hearts of the Multitude would have been so turn'd against his principal Persecutors, that instead of crying, *Crucify him! Crucify him!* they'd have *Hosanna'd* him, and have turn'd the Stream of their Fury against them; so that the *Turkish Dream* might have been literally verify'd, and the *Judge*, and not the *Criminal*, have suffer'd Death. As, if he had pleas'd too, he could have commanded more than twelve Legions of Angels, a Legion of those fiery Ministers of Heaven, instead of every single Disciple, to defend him; but that then the *Scriptures* could not have been fulfill'd; that thus it must be, if ever a sinful World were redeem'd from the threatening Vengeance of an angry God.

Now, tho' it be the present Mode, to make the incarnate Son, or Word, or Reason of God, as some Pretenders to Criticism would have him call'd, speak and argue as loosely and impertinently, as those miscall'd the *Men of Sense* in our Days, and make his *Apostles* to speak one Thing, and mean another, or any Thing that an irreligious Head can hammer out, we'll not trouble our selves to be so very much in Fashion, but we'll civilly suppose, that our Saviour, in this last Act of his Life on Earth, being before so Great a Man, and having, on all Occasions, shew'd himself so very respectful to the Authority and Rights of

Cesar, would speak pertinently, and argue closely. He offer'd not to put any Fallacy upon *Pilate*, nor did he offer a Plea to him in his own Vindication, which would not bear the Test; but he offers the common Sense of all Mankind, who either had any tolerable Notions of Government, or of the Reason of Things, against the Calumnies of his Accusers. — *If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews.* Nothing can be dangerous to the Roman Power, which is not in this World, and visible to every Eye; such a Kingdom, such a Government I pretend not to; if I did, I'm not so vain as to assume the Royal Title, without any Ensigns of Royalty; I would not pretend to be a King in this World, without Servants, or to hold a Kingdom without Subjects: But if I had a Kingdom here, and had Subjects and Servants, doubtless my Servants would be like the Servants of other Princes and Potentates; they'd be as zealous for my Honour, they'd adhere to my Interests, they'd be as forward to assist and defend me against my Enemies, as those of other Monarchs use to be, as the Subjects of *Rome*, as your self would be ready to do. But it's plain I have no Partisans, I have no Guard; and if I had, I have shewn, that I would not let them use their Swords in my Cause, but perform'd a Miracle to demonstrate my peaceable Inclinations, my Freedom from all manner of Ambition, and my being altogether unconcern'd in the Glories of this World; therefore, my Kingdom is not of this World, I am no Pretender to an Empire over the natural Offspring of *Israel*; so that you need not be jealous, or afraid of me.

Those whom we call *lawful Princes*, in the Proposition deduc'd from the Text, are such as are settled in that Dignity by the *ancient and fundamental Laws* of every particular Body politic. They are such as neither intrude themselves by Fraud or Violence to the Wrong of others, nor such as are irregularly or tumultuously obtruded upon others, by a Number of Men gotten together on their own Heads, without any Call from a superior lawful Authority; nor such as by raising Parties and Factions against the present, indisputable, rightful Governors, get themselves substituted in their Places. Now, all Kingdoms being either hereditary or elective, lawful Princes in hereditary Kingdoms are such as, upon the Demise of the Prince Regent, are immediately the sovereign Lords of any Country, by their Birth; which, according to the original Constitutions of such Countries, they have as good a Title to, as, by the same Laws, every Free-man's Child has to the Estate of his Father, out of which a stronger Purse and Interest may keep him for a while; but when true Law, and impartial Justice, takes Place, the right Heir frequently recovers it. On the side of such a Prince, the fundamental Laws of such a Country always stand; and there's never any Deviation from such Laws, but it's follow'd by a prodigious Effusion of Blood and Treasure; for, where Men once break in upon such a Constitution,

every

every Man is ready to set up for himself; and Laws once set aside, are but a poor Security to any Country for the future.

In an elective Monarchy, a *lawful King* is usually such a one as, according to the standing Laws and Customs of such a Country, is chosen by the Majority of Men of such Characters or Qualifications, as have, either by a tacit or an explicit Consent of the whole Commonalty, met on such Occasions, and in whose Judgment the rest of the People readily acquiesce. Such a Prince, not being born to Crowns or Scepters, must accept of them only on such Conditions as those who chuse him think fit; he's at his Choice whether he'll accept of the Dignity offer'd upon such Conditions, or not; but when he has accepted it on the Conditions propos'd, he's under the strongest Obligation in the World to perform them. We know that in the *Roman Empire*, tho' the Monarchy was Elective, and the Emperors most commonly chosen by the Military Men, yet they generally had no other Conditions put upon them, than what the *Israelites* propos'd to *Samuel*, when they desir'd that they might have a King, viz. *That they might be like all other Nations; that their King might judge them, and go out before them, and fight their Battels.* Hence never were Princes more absolute, than the Emperors of *Rome*; nor ever was any Empire more prosperous than that, while their Emperors, whether Heathen or Christian, were absolute, arbitrary, and uncontrollable: Nor ever did any Prince shew a truer Sense of his own Authority, and the Extent of it, than that pious and excellent Monarch *Valentinian* the 1st, who when, of a Field-Officer, he was chosen Emperor by the Army, and carry'd on their Shoulders in a triumphant Pomp, and his Electors desir'd him, according to their late Custom, to nominate a Partner with himself in the Government, with a Majesty becoming that Dignity he was call'd to, answer'd them, 'It was in your Choice, my fellow Soldiers, whether you would have bestow'd the Imperial Purple on me, or not; but since you have done it, it becomes not you to prescribe; I shall act as I think fit; it's your Business and Duty to be satisfy'd. And, indeed, according to this Method, all arbitrary Princes, whether in an hereditary or elective Monarchy, perpetually act; and the Subjects have generally liv'd the most quietly and peaceably; and such are thought, by wise Men, to live the most happily, who are under such Monarchs as make the fewest Relaxations of their Power.

We have no Reason to believe that *Commonwealths*, as distinguish'd from *Monarchies*, are of equal Antiquity with them, since we have none left upon Record in History, which did not rise from some Dissatisfactions in the People for the Abuse of the Regal Power. Where-ever such Republicks have been constituted, that of *Venice* only excepted, they have not been settled without a great deal of Contention and Difficulty: That of *Rome* in particular was not thoroughly settled in fewer than two hundred

hundred and fifty Years; but where they have been fully settled in a longer Course of Time, where all the proper Claimants to Kingship, have resign'd their Rights, and acknowledg'd the present Settlement as just and independent, there the governing Lords or People, as being possess'd of the supreme and uncontrollable Power, are to be look'd upon as lawful Princes; for it's the right-ful Power makes the Sovereign, and they who are possess'd of it, are Princes essentially, whether they be one, or more; and tho' they are never so often chang'd, yet, so long as those in present Possession of the governing Power, go out, and those who take their Places, come in, according to the standing Customs or Constitutions of the Place or Country, they only are the lawful Governors there; and, if in any Insurrection or Rebellion, a tumultuous Mob should force any of the present lawful Governors out of their Stations, and violently thrust others into them; all such so thrust in, would be Usurpers, and would have no just Authority to execute the old Laws, or to make new, since, by their Usurpations, they violate all Laws in being before. Now, the standing Customs and Constitutions of every Country, are the Measures by which the Justice of the present Government is to be examin'd. In conquer'd Countries, indeed, the Will of the Conqueror is usually the Law of the Body politic, which he has brought under him, unless, out of some politic Reasons, or the Goodness of his own Nature, he thinks fit to re-confirm their old Laws, if good; or, with their own Consent and Advice, to give them better than they had before.

Now, every Government, or politic Body, consists of *Persons governing, and of Persons governed*: A King or States without Subjects, or Subjects without a King or States to govern them, are an Absurdity even in Imagination; they are *Correlates*, and can't subsist one without the other; that *Bauble of a State of Nature*, which some make a Noise with, is only the Chimera of a few atheistical Heads, by what Names or Titles soever dignify'd or distinguish'd. The Design of God, in the Institution of Government, was primarily, that the Management of the lower World might, in some Measure, represent that of the superior World, and its numerous Inhabitants; a Government suited to which, must, of Necessity, tend to the Peace and Happiness, both of the Governed and Governors; the Difference between those Governments lying chiefly in this, that all the Hosts of Heaven were created full, and at once; the Inhabitants of the lower World were to increase and multiply, and consequently Time would every Day produce more to govern, and more to be govern'd: But all that original Power with which Governors were at first invested, and all that Reason which made Men desire to be under Government, was immediately from God, and directed by him, and would have been beneficial to the Inhabitants of this visible World, tho' Man had continu'd in his first Innocence; as we cannot doubt, but that the Felicity of the blessed Angels themselves, consists

consists in their being under the Government of their Maker. The first Man was made *absolute Sovereign* of all the visible living Creatures in the World, if his original Commission be of any Validity, while *Eve* was yet only in *Adam's* Loins, when God blessed him, and said, *Be fruitful* Gen. 1. 28. *and multiply, and replenish the Earth, and subdue it, and have Dominion over the Fishes of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over every living Thing that moveth on the Earth.* And this Commission, as to its full Force and Effect, would never have been objected to in any Particular whatsoever, had not the Sin and Disobedience of our first Parents, corrupted Nature, and put all the visible Animals in the World in Arms against him, who had been a Rebel against his Creator, and fill'd Mankind, as increasing and under a Curse, full of Hatred, Contentions, and Animosities one against another.

In this unhappy State of ours, it was, that as God was pleas'd to relieve sinful Man from that Death he had incur'd, and to continue his Commission so far as Sin had left it practicable, so God gave Man something of Policy and Courage, suited to the then degenerated State of Things, that what the subject Creature might obstinately refuse, that the Wisdom and Reason of Man might, by various Ways of Address, or by Force, compel them to. He planted in the immediate Descendants from *Adam*, not only an Awe of him, as the *universal Sovereign*, but a Principle of Obedience to him as a *natural Father*; and in the Increase of their fellow Creatures, and such as they were most conversant with, gave them a frequent View of the Dependence of the Creatures upon their Parents, and the Care of such Parents to provide for, and to defend their Young; which Care of Parents for their Children, and which Dependence of the Children upon their Parents, must naturally, and by Instinct, as well as rationally, and by Discourse, imprint upon the Minds of Children, a perpetual Veneration of their Parents; and upon the Hearts of Parents, a perpetual Affection and Inclination to their Children, even when they should be providentially separated, and seem to have no farther Need of one another; of which, even in this decrepit Age of the World, we meet with some very remarkable Instances.

But when the Increase of their Race made it necessary for Mankind to separate from one another, that they might get more Room for their Subsistence, this natural Inclination of Parents and Children, reciprocally one to another, still continuing, he must be a *Man of the present Age*, who would not suppose that the travelling Children would take Leave of their Fathers, and beg their Blessing, and their farther necessary Instructions; or that their first Parents would not send them away without their Blessing, their Counsel, or without imparting to them some of their Authority, for the better Management of their own Families, and their multiplying Posterity: And the same God who had created Government among Mankind, first taught the Younger to be subject to the

the Elder, the Children to their Parents, inspir'd them with such Reasons as convinc'd them of the Benefit of, and Safety in their Submission to their Elders, and to Persons of more Courage, Experience, and Wisdom, than themselves. The same God taught the Parents and Elders too, that Wisdom and Conduct that they easily understood, that their own immediate worldly Happiness consisted chiefly in the Prosperity and Welfare of those who, as being related, could not but be dear to them; which too could not but contribute to their Parents Greatness and Authority: And he gave the younger and inferior Sort, that true Sense of Things, as to know that the Greatness, Authority, and inward Satisfaction of Mind, which their Superiors might enjoy, would tend most to their own Good; would make their Governors the more capable of promoting their Welfare, of protecting them from all Dangers, and of attaining to those great and good Ends, in Expectation of which, the *All-wise God* instituted, and the *All-wanting Sons of Adam* wish'd for, and readily submitted to Government.

What was thus settled in the old World, after *that* had been destroy'd by the universal Deluge, was renew'd to it when restor'd in the Person and Posterity of righteous *Noah*. *Noah* had, doubtless, as great Authority over his Descendants, as *Adam* had enjoy'd before, and pursu'd the same Methods for re-peopling the World, and for its Government when peopled. God was pleas'd sometimes, out of the ordinary Course, to raise some extraordinary Spirits, and to endue them with such Majesty, Prudence, Eloquence, and Courage, as made mighty Numbers admire them, follow them, submit to them, look upon it as one of their greatest Felicities in this World, to live under their Commands; and such were they who gave Beginnings to the greatest Empires in the World. Such a one *Nimrod* seems to have been, who gave the first Beginnings to the *Assyrian* Empire; whatever his true Character was, that *he was a mighty Hunter before the Lord*, means only, that he was one who, with abundance of Courage, and an indefatigable Industry, endeavour'd, by continual Hunting, to clear the Forests, Mountains, and waste Grounds, from savage and dangerous Beasts, that they might become safe Habitations for Men. This Undertaking drew great Numbers after him, both for Exercise and Profit, and made them admire his Prudence and Sagacity in his Undertaking, as well as his Valour in performing so great a Work; and therefore, to be willing, under the Influence of his Conduct, to take Possession of those formerly dangerous, and to enjoy the Benefit of those now better cultivated Lands; these Incidents made

Gen. 10. 8. *Nimrod become a mighty Man upon the Earth, and to be able to found a powerful Monarchy, by building and peopling of Babel, and Ereck, and Accad, and Calneh, in the Land of Shinar; and out of that Land he went out into Assyria, and built Niniveh, and the City Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah; the same is a great City.*
And

And its no Wonder, that when God inspir'd the Multitude with the Desire to live under some Government, for their own Security, that they follow'd one of so great Abilities, both of Body and Mind, and became his Subjects.

Nor can we wonder, that one of so great a Reach, and so noble an Ambition, drew many to join in his Designs, to promote his Interests, and to second and encourage his generous and aspiring Nature; or that I interpret his being a mighty Hunter before the Lord, as I do, since the Increate of savage Beasts in Lands thin of Inhabitants, or not at all inhabited, is usual; Whence God forbid the *Israelites* to destroy the *Canaanites* all at once, lest the *Beasts of the Field* should multiply against them, and destroy them; and the terrible D solations which *Shalmanasar*, the *Assyrian*, made in the Kingdom of *Israel*, gave Way to the Increate of *Lyons* in that Country, which God made use of as Instruments of his Vengeance against an ignorant and idolatrous People now living there.

The Greatness of some Men in those early Ages, and the Multitude of their Friends and Followers, gave them Encouragement to desire to be greater, and to compel more to come under the Shadow of their Wings; since little Princes, such as *Josua* conquer'd in *Canaan*, were not able to protect them from their Violence and Oppression; and we know it's a receiv'd Maxim of our modern Politicians, and the fundamental Principle of their pretended Loyalty, that they owe no Faith to any Prince who-soever, how rightfully soever possess'd of that Dignity, and how well qualify'd soever for the Execution of his Office, any longer than he's able to protect them from the Injuries of an Invader or Usurper; as all *Israel* were in the Right, and acted like wise and good Men, who submitted to *Absalom*, when *David* had abdicated the Government, by retiring beyond *Jordan*; and they were every whit as wise, when they were so eager to bring *David* home to his own House, when the usurping Rebel was dead; but they happen'd to fail a little in their Measures, when they listen'd to the Trumpet of *Sheba*, the Son of *Bichri*, and fell in with the Rebel-Party, before they knew what the Event would be. Again, the Greatness of some, rais'd the Jealousy and Envy of others, who thought themselves and their own Glories eclips'd by the Reputation and Successes of such active and enterprizing Men; So the Injuries and the Oppressions on one side, and the Suspicion and Envy on the other, produc'd Wars; on one side, for the Defence and Vindication of their suffering Subjects or Allies, and putting a Stop to the Encroachments of their growing Neighbours; on the other side, for pushing on their own ambitious Schemes, justifying their Oppressions by increasing them, and preventing their Neighbours from ever growing strong enough to retaliate the Mischiefs they have done.

Here now, the Soldiers and Servants of the more powerful Monarch, as having been made rich in Honour, and by the Spoils of submitting

Submitting Nations, knowing well that such extraordinary Successes are apt to raise Envy, and to multiply Dangers to the Person and Government of their victorious Leader, will be sure to stand by him; they'll look upon Honour and Conquest as entail'd upon them, under such a Monarch, and therefore will endeavour still to keep down all those whom they have got the upper-hand of already, and doubt not but that it's both their Duty and Interest to do so. On the other Hand, the Soldiers of the *lesser Prince*, or Princes, well satisfy'd with his Person and Government, and loath to change one, of whose Prudence, Goodness, and Courage, they have had long Experience, for one whom they know not, being well satisfy'd too of *the Right* their present Sovereign has to their Allegiance and Fidelity, and to the Use of their Lives and Fortunes, they arm as cheerfully, and as readily, in the Defence of their own Prince, to maintain his Cause, and to secure his Throne, as the other can do: And honest Men, who fear God, and look up to him as the only *lawful Disposer of Kingdoms and Government*, are apt to believe, that a small Force on the juster Side, will be able to do as much as the greater visible Power of an ambitious Conqueror and Usurper: And that the King, who has but ten thousand Men, having God on his Side, may meet with him, who comes against him with twenty thousand, without any Disadvantage; and if their several Subjects will do so much for their several Princes, upon a War commenc'd between them, much more will such *honest and faithful Subjects and Servants* do, for their own lawful Sovereign, when a factious and discontented Crew are meditating Rebellion, or plotting and confederating to pull him down, and to substitute another in his Place.

It's not to be doubted, but that the better and more sensible Men are, the better Princes they desire and pray for, and wish for them, that they may be glorious, happy, and perfect in all manner of Virtues. But while they are every Day more and more sensible of their own Weakness, and of the many Miscarriages, which, in spite of all their Care and Studies, they themselves are guilty of in the Management of their own private Families, where yet, if they please, they may see with their own Eyes, and hear with their own Ears, without much Dependence on the Truth and Fidelity of others, they can neither wonder nor complain, if there be many great and visible Errors in a great Nation, under the Government of a *David*, or a *Solomon*; they therefore bear with such Errors, take no Notice of them, put the best Construction upon such Passages as are not agreeable to their own Wishes: They put up Prayers, Supplications, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings for their Princes, begging of God that he would bless, guide, and direct them; give them pious, wise, and faithful Counsellors, and turn every Thing to the best; that so Men under their lawful Prince, who is but a Man, may *live quiet and peaceable Lives, in all Godliness and Honesty*. Such

Men observe too, that the loudest Complainers of the Male-Administration of their lawful Governors, are generally the most vile and profligate of Mankind, Men of no Religion, no Morals, no Honour, such Persons as for sparing whom only, the Government can be justly arraign'd. Now, let the Clamours of such Wretches be never so loud, and the Quarrels they pick with their Superiors, be never so plausible; such good Men, and good Subjects as I am speaking of, will never concur with, nor enter into, any Confederacies with them. Ill Men, they know, are always given to Change, good and wise Men are always against them; the former would not change the Prince they quarrel with, for a better, but for a worse, whether in personal Qualifications, or in Title, for one more obnoxious to themselves, or more compliant and agreeable to their Humours and Vices: The latter know all Changes to be of fatal Consequence, and that Nations are seldom or never quiet, till, like fermenting Liquors, they have thrown off all that's foul and poisonous, and return to their original Fineness and Purity.

In such Cases as these, therefore, good Christians and good Subjects will always stand by their lawful and rightful Princes, with their Lives and Fortunes, not in an empty Address, but in Reality. There are, indeed, too few of such excellent Subjects, as we find by the small Number of those who follow'd David, when he fled from his rebellious Son, yet the Fidelity of those few prevail'd at last against the more numerous Rebels; and so, unless the Sins of a wicked People prevent the Blessing, God's gracious Providence generally favours the righteous Cause at last. Good Subjects will lay down their Lives in Defence of their lawful Prince, against his Rebels, as well as against others, as our Master tells us in the Text, *If his Kingdom had been of this World, then would his Servants have fought, that he might not have been deliver'd to the Jews.* We know that the holy Jesus was born King of the Jews; that the Throne of his Father David was promis'd to him of old, and belong'd to him only of Right; yet, as the Evangelist tells us, *He came to his own, and John 1. 11. his own receiv'd him not;* he was accus'd before Pilate, as one pretending to be a King, and he, to the great Dissatisfaction of his Accusers, put that Title over his Head upon the Cross, *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews.* That then was his true Title, that his Right, but his Kingdom was Spiritual, not Temporal; he demanded the Renditions of Mens Souls to him, not of their Bodies; the Romans might govern them still, by their Imperial Laws; Christ came not to exempt them from Obedience to Caesar; he desir'd to rule in their Hearts, not over their numerous Cities, or larger Prefectures or Provinces. As to the Persons of the Jews, it's plain they were Rebels against him; they were, by the Gift of his Father, the first, and more peculiar Lot of his Inheritance; yet, when he came to them, they hated him; they would not have this Man to reign over them; they

persecuted him, and, by *Roman Hands*, scandalously murder'd him: Had his Dominion over them, been Temporal, such was his Power, that he could have inspir'd the poor dejected *Twelve*, who follow'd him trembling, with Courage and Force enough to have cut thousands of his Enemies to pieces; his Servants would then have fought for him, that he should not have been deliver'd to his Rebels; but they not using, and he not permitting, any such forcible Defence of himself, the Truth of his Answer to Pilate was indisputable, and his Kingdom was not of this World.

But earthly Subjects owe such Defence to their earthly Sovereigns; and this appears, as I observ'd before, from the very Nature of Government; it's the same, as to the Reason of the Thing, be the Kind of Government what it will; but we are at present only concern'd with that of Kings, the Species refer'd to in the Text. Now, the *Business of a King*, according to what the *Israelites* pretended in their Resolution upon the Remonstrances of *Samuel*, was, They would have a King, that they also might be like all the Nations, and that their King might judge them, and go out before them, and fight their Battels. Where, by the Way, we may observe, that all the Nations, at that Time, had Kings over them, for the same Ends and Purposes for which *Israel* desir'd one; and no History gives us any Account of any other Government in those Days, but that of Kings; nor of Men living in what some *Hobbits* call a *State of Nature*, a Figment so well baffled by his Grace the late Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the ingenious Dr. *Eachard*, in which every Man was at his Liberty, and liv'd as savage Beasts do in the midst of Woods and Forests, and among the Craggs of Rocks and Mountains. Now, where the *Israelites* say, they would have a King to judge them, they mean, they would have a King to do Justice among them, to put the Laws of God in due Execution, and to provide particularly for particular Emergencies, where the Laws of God were silent; as he was to be their Judge, so he was to act as he thought fit in his own Person, and to call what Causes he pleas'd before himself; and to appoint others, of Courage and Understanding, to receive the Complaints of his People, to relieve the Oppressed, to support and defend Fatherless and Widows, to keep Men in Peace and Quietness; to take up, imprison, or condemn to Death, all kinds of Malefactors; and to avenge the Cause of God and the King, against all such as were disobedient. Now, all this Care for the Welfare of his People, must deserve the Return of abundance of Tenderness for the Safety of the Prince's Person. But such Care of the Prince would certainly promote the Happiness of the Subjects, in the free Enjoyment of themselves, in their proper Stations and Employments.

But the King whom these *Israelites* desir'd, was to be like the Kings of other Nations, to go out before them. Was this only that the Multitude might appear the more considerable, when a Person array'd in Purple, of a majestick Mien and Aspect, and who seem'd to carry

carry something Great in all his Motions, walk'd before them ? No, those elder Ages were not so fond of Shadows. They took Notice, indeed, sometimes of a *Countenance worthy of an Empire*. Such was that of *Saul, the first Monarch of Israel*, whose noble Appearance could not but reconcile many to him, after God had call'd him to that Honour; he was really a *goodly Person*, and might command a profound Respect from all who saw him. Such a one was *Jesse's eldest Son*, whose very Look spoke so powerfully for him, that when *Samuel* view'd him, he concluded that *certainly the Anointed of the Lord was then before him*. But the Prince who was desir'd to go out before *Israel*, was such a one as might be their *Guide and Conductor* on all Occasions; such a one as might watch for them, forewarn them of all threatening Evils, face every Danger in the Head of them, and put them into such Order, that they might, with a reasonable Probability of Safety, resist any violent Aggressor; he was to consult for them, and to turn their *Thoughts* and their *Arms* this Way or that Way, according as he saw *Mischief* approaching from any Quarter, and under the Prospect of several growing Dangers, to judge for them, which was *best* to be oppos'd, and which with the *greatest Force* and Application.

But as their Prince was to go out before them, as their Leader, so he was to *fight their Battals*. Not that the King alone, and by himself, was to fight whole Armies of Enemies, tho' sometimes particular Persons appear'd as *Champions*, to fight in behalf of all the rest; as *Goliath* was the *Champion of the Philistines*, and in their Name defy'd all the Armies of *Israel*; and *David* providentially became the *Champion of Israel*, accepting *Goliath's Challenge*, and, by killing him, brought assur'd Victory to the Side of *Israel*; Such were *Paris* and *Meneleus*, *Hector* and *Ajax*, among the *Greeks* and *Trojans*; and *Turnus* and *Aeneas* between the *Trojans* and the *Latins*: But the Business of Kings, in Time of War, was, to levy Forces, to call their Subjects together to the Field, to have them train'd and exercis'd for Fight, to lead them against the Enemy, whether to break into his Country, or to prevent or repulse the Enemy breaking into his own. Kings were to chuse the Ground and Time for fighting, to give the Army proper Officers, and to commission them to manage such or such Bodies or Detachments, with a full Power to exercise Martial Discipline upon Cowards, Traytors, or Deserters. They us'd often to survey the Field, that they might be able to send Succours, if the Ground would allow it, to every declining Quarter; and, upon Occasion, the Onset being order'd by them, to expose their own Lives to the utmost, and to lose them freely in Defence of their Subjects. In short, he whom *Israel* desir'd, was to be a King to command with an indisputable Authority, a General, to conduct, to model, and to marshal an Army with Art and Judgment, and to be a private Soldier, to draw his own Sword, and to fight either in the Head, or any other convenient Part of the Army.

Such

Such was *Joshua*, marching in the Head of *Israel*, when warring against the *Canaanites*; *Saul* in the Head of his Troops against the *Philistines*; *David* against the same; *Jehoshaphat* against the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*; *Josiah* against the King of *Egypt*. Such was *Alexander the Great*, *Julius Caesar*, and several other Emperors of *Rome*; *Tamerlane the Tartar*, and his mighty Adversary *Bajazet the Turk*; *Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden*, and the present valiant King of that incomparably loyal People. Such were our own *Richards*, *Edwards*, *Henrys*, the Honours of the Royal Character, and the Glories of their Times. These Things were what all Nations, in former Ages, expected from their Kings.

But now, can we imagine that any one King alone, and by himself, could make all his Subjects submit to Law and Justice? Could he alone rescue the Prey out of the Jaws of covetous and rapacious Bears, and Wolves, and Tygers? Could he alone make every one yield to the most reasonable Decisions in the World? Could he alone subdue Rebels, repulse Invaders, raise and command mighty Armies, without inferior Officers? Or resist Invaders, or dethrone Usurpers, without the Assistance of any Soldiers or Subalterns? No Man can believe these Things, or be so silly as to expect them. Their own domestick Servants and Relations, were the first commanded Bodies and Guards of Princes, as in the Case of *Abraham*, when he went against *Chedorlaomer* and his Confederates: The Children of Great Men were such, where they were numerous, their own Safety being wrapp'd up in that of their Fathers; several of their People us'd to offer themselves as Guards, and Princes oft chose Guards for themselves, from among the People, to attend upon them and their Sons, as *Saul* did, and *Samuel* had told the *Israelites*, their Kings would and must do. These were ready to go whither, and upon what Message soever they were sent: They were to put the King's Commands in Execution, as we see *David's* Servants did in the Case of the *Amalekite*, who pretended to have kill'd *Saul*; and *Solomon's* did in the Cases of *Joab*, *Shimei*, and *Adonijah*. These render'd the Throne august and awful, struck a Terror upon Criminals, and were ready to prevent any Violence which a Rebel or Traytor might offer to the King's Person at unawares, and gave them Opportunity, in a Time of Danger, to save themselves. These were a proper Foundation of an Army; and being generally well treated by their Sovereigns, were always ready to spend their Lives in their Defence and Service. These went in and out with their Kings, and were Guards to inferior Magistrates, and Ministers of Justice, that they might execute their Offices safely; and these, among others, us'd to wait upon their Masters to the Field, to defend them against Traytors and Rebels at Home, and against Encroachers, Invaders, and Usurpers, upon his own or his Subjects Rights and Liberties from abroad.

Those must be very bad Princes indeed, or must reign but a very short Time, from whose Management the Publick reaps no manner

manner of Good at all; but if any in their publick Capacities reap any Benefit from the Government, they'll presently conclude, that a great deal of their own Happiness depends upon the Safety and Felicity of such a Prince. One who is Heir to a fair Estate, may squander it away very foolishly, yet many good Men may get considerably by his Profuseness; and it is not concluded presently, that such a Spend-thrift ought to be immediately stripp'd of all he has, unless some other Person can be produc'd, who has a better Right to it than he. But no Prince, in these Days, can spend his Kingdom as a Prodigal spends his Estate; he may waste the Revenues of it lavishly enough, but, by himself, he can't mortgage nor sell it: He may keep himself always poor, while he's in full Possession of the Power and Dignity, and the Revenue belonging to it; but he can never want what's necessary, or what may support his Honour in a commendable Way; and both the Prince and the Country may subsist without Excesses. But in the Midst of the wildest Extravagancies, the Money may only circulate the quicker among the Subjects; and while they enjoy Peace at Home, and with their Neighbours, and the Prince's Profuseness promotes Trade and Commerce, whosoever shall go about to insult him from Abroad, or give him Disturbance, or rebel against him at Home, every Subject ought to be ready to assist him, every Soldier ought to be ready to fight for him, and defend him.

Nebuchadnezzar, King of *Babylon*, was a mighty Warrior, an ambitious, cruel, and tyrannical Conqueror; he was one of those uncontrollable Monarchs, whose Will was the Law of his Subjects, and who never shew'd himself much inclin'd to forgive any who offended him: He had dealt more severely with the *Jews*, than any, burning their capital City, and with it the glorious Temple of the most high God: He had desolated and depopulated their whole Country, had carry'd all such Persons and Families into a lamentable Captivity, who were any Way considerable, so that a greater Enemy they could not have; yet, while they were in that captive State, God does not, by his Prophet, bid them stand up against their Conqueror, endeavour to embroil his Government, or to shake off his Fetters; no, but *build ye Houses, says he, and dwell in them, and plant Gardens, and eat the Fruit of them; take ye Wives, and beget Sons and Daughters, and take Wives for your Sons, and give your Daughters unto Husbands, that they may have Sons and Daughters, that ye may be increas'd there, and not diminish'd.* By these Ways the *Jews* were to contribute to the Wealth, the Strength, and the Authority of the King of *Babylon*, as much as they could desire to increase their own Numbers; and they were not to do this only, but *seek ye the Peace of that City, says God, whither I have caus'd you to be carry'd away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the Peace thereof ye shall have Peace.* After all which, if their Conqueror call'd out any of the *Jews* to attend him in the Field, they'd certainly stand by him among the most faithful

of

of his Subjects, as we see *Daniel* and his three Friends, Persons of the highest Rank among the Captives, serv'd him faithfully and wisely, above all others, in the Station he had plac'd them in.

But if the *Jews*, who had been all along treated as Enemies and Slaves, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and who were now Captives, were oblig'd to be so faithful to the Interests of their Conqueror and Oppressor, how much more are they oblig'd to it, who naturally, or voluntarily, live under the Government of a lawful Prince; a Prince who, if he be not the best of all others, is yet guilty of as few Errors in the Management of his People, as others are in the Conduct of their private Families? Every Man ought to hold the Life and Ease of his Prince, as dear as the Life of his own Father, or of the best and most powerful Friend he has in the World, since his Prince is the best Friend of the whole Nation, and the Father of his Country. *Saul* was none of the best Kings, yet *David*, in his Lamentation over him, charg'd

2Sam. i. 24. the Daughter of Israel, to weep over *Saul*, who clothed them in Scarlet, with other Delights, and who put Ornaments of Gold upon their Apparel. And, after the Downfall of *Abolom*, when all the Tribes of Israel were at Strife to bring *David* home, they, in grateful Terms, commemorate the great Things *David* had done for them, tho' they had, in their Fondness of Change and Novelty, forgotten them strangely before.

The King, say they, sav'd us out of the Hand of our Enemies, and he deliver'd us from the Philistines, and now he is fled out of the Land, for *Abolom*, and *Abolom*, whom we anointed over us, is dead in Battel: Now therefore, why speak ye not a Word of bringing the King Home? And so we see, that tho' the Weakness of *Rehoboam*, in following the Counsel of young Men, rather than that of those of more Wisdom and Experience, frighted ten Tribes into Rebellion against God and their King; yet *Rehoboam* had the populous Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* ready to assert his Cause, and to fight for him, had not God himself countermanded their forward Loyalty; and tho' *Jeroboam*, under Pretence of maintaining Liberty and Property, had betray'd the revolting Tribes into nothing but Apostacy and Idolatry, and had made them Enemies to their God and their King at the same Time, yet the Love of that mere Shadow they had grasp'd at, made them throw away 500000 Lives in one Battel, to support their Idol. So *Atbaliah* too had her Creatures ready to defend her, tho' there was nothing but the bare Appearance of Government to recommend her to the People. And tho' *Zedekiah* was one of those who never troubled himself about pleasing God, and was wonderfully mistaken in his Measures, if he really sought the Welfare of his Country; yet considerable Numbers were ready to die with him, before they would give him up into the Hands of conquering *Nebuchadnezzar*. Lawful Princes always find some Friends and Servants, who

who will fight for them, and look upon Death it self as highly meritorious in their Quarrel.

All Mankind agree together in this Principle, and set the highest Value Words can express upon the Person and Life of their rightful Sovereign. If God, by himself, has immediately set him over them, as in the Case of Saul, none but the Sons of Belial can reject him whom God has chosen. If Men have pitch'd upon such or such a Man to be their King, they directly condemn themselves, and their own Pollies, if they quickly grow weary of their own Choice. If their King, in Person, fights their Battels, they can scarce desire more; (for such an Action shews, that he values their Welfare and Interests more than his own Life.) People are very apt to undervalue such as are afraid, or unwilling to adventure their Persons at the Head of their Troops; if they find them forward to do it, they are the more tender of their Persons, and are the more careful for their Safety, who take no Care of themselves. Never was any Man more daring, in the publick Cause, than David, when either a private Person, a subordinate Officer, or a King; God had taught his Hands to War, and his Fingers, to Fight, and he again had brought up a great Number of excellent Commanders in War, and Counsellors in Peace; but David was no more Immortal, or Invulnerable, than other Men. This the People, who had so often seen his heroick Valour, and reap'd the Fruits of it, consider'd, when he told them, that he would go out with them to the Battel against Absalom; they were aware that the Malice of an unnatural Rebel might go very far, and that it had been advis'd by Achitophel, that David alone should be surpris'd, surpris'd, and kill'd; that therefore it might reasonably be fear'd, that the Rebels would level all their Spite against the Person of the King; the People therefore, with one Consent, answer his Officer, *Thou shalt not go forth,* 2 Sam. 18. *for if we flee away, they will not care for us; neither* 2, 3. *if all of us should die, will they care for us; but thou art worth ten thousand of us; therefore now it is better for thee to succour us out of the City.* And after this, when in a Battel against the Philistines, David was'd faint, and Ishbi Benet, a gigantick Man of the Philistines, being girt with a new Sword, thought, at that Advantage to have kill'd him, Abisai, the Son of Neriab, succour'd his Master, and kill'd the Philistine; and all David's Servants kindly, though boldly, concurr'd in that Resolution, *Thou shalt no more go forth with us to a Battel, that thou quench not the Light of* 2 Sam. 21. 17. *Israel.* Here Valour, well known, was justly excus'd, and every good Servant of the King of Israel, was ready to sacrifice his own Life, to preserve that of his Sovereign. The King, indeed, is the Light of his People, when he falls, the People, like poor blind Creatures, go on poring in the Dark, and it's generally a long Time before they come to a regular Settlement; where the King is not elective, the natural Heir reigns, immediately upon the De-

mise of his Predecessor, without any Scmple, Difficulty, or Dissatisfaction.

What Value other Nations, who had less Light than the Tribes of Israel, to direct them in their Duty to God, or Man, had for the Person of their Kings, is apparent by those Descriptions of a King, which they give us, viz. that *he is a King who can do what he pleases, without Controul*; that *he's above every Body, but no Body above him*; that *he's the Author of Laws, but himself above the coercive Power of any Laws, but those of God and Reason*; that *every Subject is accountable to him, but he accountable to none*; that *the King is God's Image, Vice-Gerent, and Representative*; to which Christians add, that *he is the highest Power, whom none of his Subjects can forcibly resist, without incurring Damnation*; that *he's one of those Majestick Creatures, against whom there's no rising up*, &c. And, though in all Nations, under Heaven, there have, at one Time or other, been *Plots, Treasons, Insurrections, and Rebellions*, against their Princes, yet, upon the Resettlement of publick Affairs, the Authors of such Crimes have been look'd on, and treated, as *Traitors and Rebels* ought to be, unless the extraordinary Clemency of the lawful Prince, has pass'd some Act of Grace for their Indemnity. And though God in his Displeasure with a sinful Nation, may suffer wicked Men, and such as are of unquiet and factious Minds, to prevail for a while, as in the cruel Usurpation of *Athaliah*; yet he generally brings Matters about again, and then, as *Jotham, the lawful Son of Gideon*, wish'd *that Fire might come out from Abimelech, and devour the Men of Shechem, and the House of Millo*; and Fire come out from Shechem, and the House of Millo, and devour Abimelech; for nothing's more usual than for wise Princes to hate the Traitor, though they may like the Effects of the Treason well enough.

Several Soldiers in a Battel have shewn the Respect they had to their Prince's Safety, by casting themselves in a Ring about him, and suffering themselves to be cut to Pieces, only to save him; as a Body of *Janisaries* did about *Bajazet the Turk*, when he had, in a manner, lost the Field to the victorious *Tamerlane*. Sometimes particular Persons have thrown themselves between their Prince and a violent Blow aim'd at him, and have fall'n upon the Bed of Honour in his Defence. Again, sometimes the Danger of the Prince's Person, in a Battel, has so rous'd the Courage of his Soldiers, as, by rescuing him, at the same Time they have snatch'd Victory from the before-prevailing Adversary; so the politick Report of *Gustavus* being taken Prisoner, by the *Germans*, when he was really kill'd, at the Battel of *Lutren*, set the *Swedes* with so much Fury, that, to rescue him, they bravely drove the *German Army* out of the Field. This personal Esteem for their Princes has made such extraordinary Rejoycing, both among

among the *Military Men* and the *Commonalty*, when they have seen them return in Safety Home, from the infinite Hazards of a bloody War; hence so many Prayers put up, both by *Heathens* and *Christians*, for the Security of the Persons of their warlike Monarchs; hence those numerous *deprecatory Acclamations* of the *Roman Senate and Armies*, for their Emperors, of which *Vopiscus* gives us a remarkable Instance, upon the Choice of *Probus*, and *Lampridius* another, of their Acclamations to *Macrinus*, upon his presenting his young Son *Diadumenus* to them, under the belov'd Name of *Antoninus*. But thus it always will, and ought to be; *earthly Monarchs* will have their *earthly Servants* always ready, according to Duty, to fight for them, that they may not be deliver'd into the Hands of their Enemies; all such Servants as fail in this Duty, merit not the Characters of Honour, nor Title of Faithful, nor the Name of Christians. What then will belong to the Authors and Contrivers of that execrable Murder, committed this fatal Day upon the sacred Person of *Charles the First*, of blessed Memory, the best of Men, and the best of Princes, who ever wore the *British Crown*; the horrid Guilt of such Persons, no Thoughts can conceive, no Words express. That we may view this hellish Crime in its proper Colours, since it's impossible to remove it out of Sight, while *Treason, Rebellion, and Murder*, are Sins; and *Christianity*, as reform'd from the Errors of *Rome*, is the Religion publickly profess'd in these Kingdoms, we must make these several Inquiries,

1. Whether *Charles the First*, of pious Memory, was not the lawful King, Monarch, Sovereign, and Emperor of these Nations, according to our true, ancient, and fundamental Laws? By these several Titles of King, Monarch, Sovereign, and Emperor, the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom know their lawful supream Governor. Now, they were none but *Papists*, who, upon the Demise of that glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, ever pretended to question the Right of *James the First*, the only Son of *Mary Queen of Scotland*, and Dowager of France, sole Daughter, and undoubted Heir of *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of our *Henry the Seventh*; who, by marrying *Elizabeth*, Heiress of the House of York, put an End to the long and bloody Contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and, consequently, upon the Failure of the Heirs of *Henry the Eighth*, was nearest related to the Crown of England; which Right and Relation, upon her Death, descended to her only Son and Heir *James the First*. Whatever Objections some *Popish Factors* laid against him, and which some of the Scum of the *rational World* have, with unparall'd Impudence, reviv'd in these Days, yet we have no Exception to the Justice of the first Parliament, call'd in the Reign of that King, in their most joyful and loyal Recognition of the immediate lawful and undoubted Succession, Descent, and Right of the Crown upon him; where, after several humble and respectful Expressions of their Loyalty, they add, 'We do beseech your most ex-

'cellent Majesty, that as a Memorial to all Posterities, among
 'the Records of your High Court of Parliament, for ever to
 'endure, of our Loyalty and Obedience, and humble and heart-
 'ty Affection; it may be publish'd and declar'd in this High
 'Court of Parliament, and enacted by the Authority of the
 'same, that we, being bounden thereto, both by the Laws of
 'God and Man, do recognize and acknowledge, and hereby ex-
 'press our unspeakable Joys, that immediately upon the Dis-
 'solution and Decease of *Elizabeth, late Queen of England*, the
 'Imperial Crown of the Realm of *England*, and of all the
 'Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the same,
 'did, by inherent Birth-Right, and lawful and undoubted Suc-
 'cession, descend and come to your most excellent Majesty, as
 'being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next, and sole Heir, of the
 'Blood Royal of this Realm, as is abovesaid; and that, by the
 'Goodness of God Almighty, and lawful Right of Descent,
 'under one Imperial Crown, your Majesty is, of the Realms
 'and Kingdoms of *England, France, and Ireland*, the most po-
 'tent and mighty King; and to your Protection we most hum-
 'bly and faithfully do submit and oblige our selves, our
 'Heirs and Posterities for ever, even until the very last Drop
 'of our Blood be spent, &c. This may serve to clear the
 Right of *James the First* to the Crown of these Kingdoms; and
 whether *Charles the First*, of pious Memory, were not the Son
 and Heir of *James the First*, and *Anne of Denmark*, I don't re-
 member that ever any Body call'd in Question.

2. *Charles the First* being his Father's true and only Heir to all
 his Kingdoms, according to the Import of the fore-cited Recog-
 nition; our next Enquiry will be, *Whether every Person, of what
 Sex or Age soever, born within his Realms and Dominions, were
 not his Subjects naturally, and by Birth; and, consequently, whe-
 ther by opposing, resisting, and rebelling against him, which the
 Law allows in no Case whatsoever, they did not immediately
 become Traitors and Rebels?* As Birth gives me, or any
 other Person, a Right to my, or his Father's Inheritance,
 or any Part of it; so it gives me a Right to the Pro-
 tection of the same Government, by the Laws of which, as
 well as by the Laws of Nature and Nations, I enjoy such a
 Right; but no Man can pretend to the Protection of the Govern-
 ment, but such as own their Subjection to the lawful King, or su-
 pream Governor, under whom he lives. Hence it was, that in
 the Time of Popery, when the Clergy of this Nation pretended to
 an Exemption from the coercive Power of the Temporal Laws of
 this Kingdom, as immediately depending only on the Court of
Rome, when the King could manage them by no other Means,
 he put them out of the Protection of his Laws, since they would
 not obey them, and by that Means let loose the whole Body of the
 Laity upon them: And this really was but Justice; and every
 one who engages in Insurrections and Rebellions against his law-
 ful

ful Prince, puts himself out of his Prince's Protection, and is properly an *Outlaw*, tho' he be not su'd to an *Outlawry*. Our Parliaments of old consisted only of the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and such as held Lands of the King by *Knights Service*, who might perhaps not be thought so equal a *Representation of the Commonalty*, as they would have wish'd for; tho' all the Lands of the Kingdom were then, and still are, held of the King, as Lord in Chief, by one Tenure or another; and every one who had Tenants under himself, as he was under the King, those Tenants might reasonably suppose, that their Lords would take Care of their Good, their own being so very much concern'd in it. But *Burgesses for Boroughs and Corporations*, and *Knights for Shires*, who were purely *Commoners* themselves, were, by the Policy of our Kings, admitted into the *Great Council of the Nation*; and it was put into the Power of the *substantial Freeholders* (for such were the *forty Shillings Men* in those Days) to give their Votes freely for such as they thought fit to represent themselves in that Great Assembly; then all those *Recognitions and Acknowledgments of Subjection, Homage, Allegiance, Fealty, &c.* which were made by the *Commons Representatives*, were justly look'd upon and taken as the *Acts and Deeds* of the whole Commons of these Realms. Hence the Laws consented to, or petition'd for by their Representatives, tho' the King's Will alone makes them *Laws*, and those *his own Laws* too, are yet said to be *such Laws as the Commons of the Nation have chosen or desir'd*.

In these Laws the *Lords and Commons* always acknowledge themselves the King's *loyal, faithful, humble, and obedient Subjects*; and that the lawful Possessor of the Throne, is their sole, true, and rightful Sovereign; which Acknowledgments, if they be true, then, as the Prince owes all them *his Protection* who acknowledge his Right, so far as he can give it them, so they again owe him *their Obedience and Assistance*, to make good his own Obligations: They are in the Eyes of the Law so truly the Subjects of the *rightful King*, that they are no sooner born into the World, than they are under the same Obligations their Fathers were before; and so as they grow up to Years of Discretion, they are liable to the *Lashes of the King's Laws*, and are bound to perform all the Duties of faithful Subjects, and to obey their Sovereign, even where the Authority of their *natural Fathers* ceases, or where it interferes with that of the *lawful Prince*. Being under such *natural Obligations*, their occasional Removal into *foreign Countries* will not excuse them for any Fault they have there committed against their natural Lord; they can't so far transfer *their Allegiance* from their own to a *Foreigner*, by any Contract whatever, but that if any Action of theirs in another Country comes up to the Nature of *Treason* against their own *Sovereign*, in whose Service soever they are, the Law against *Treason* will pass upon them, when taken, as was determin'd by the *Judges in Queen Elizabeth's Time in the Case of Dr. Story*. If then

then taking Arms against a rightful Sovereign, makes him who lives under such a Sovereign's Protection, a Rebel and a Traytor, we know of nothing that can change the Nature of such a Crime. Counsels, Designs, Plots against a lawful Government, are treasonable; but those who make Use of Force and Arms against it, those who excite Strangers to Arms, or to invade, or any Way endeavour the Hurt or Ruin of their natural Sovereign or Country, are, in the Eye of our Law, Traytors and Rebels. But,

3. It's next worth our while to enquire whether all the Subjects of Charles the First, whether Lords Spiritual or Temporal, or the Commons, as the three Estates of this Realm in Parliament assembled, and all Officers, whether Spiritual, Civil, or Military, had taken the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to him, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors, exclusively of all other Persons whatsoever? This Oath, in an Age when Oaths were more consider'd, both by the Takers and Imposers of them, than they are at present, was a Test, not of a Papist's Religion, but of his Loyalty. In the Reign of Q. Elizabeth, that Papist who would declare, that in Case of an Invasion of this Nation by the Bishop of Rome, or his Procurement, he'd stand by the Queen, tho' excommunicated by the Pope, against him and his Adherents, was frequently admitted to the Council Table, and always held his Seat in Parliament. The Powder Treason gave an Occasion to that Alteration made in the Oath, in the Reign of James the First; several Papists, who from their Hearts detested that devilish Con- trivance, took the Oath, as so modell'd, and still sat in the House of Peers; and we don't meet with any extraordinary In- conveniences arising from that Allowance. But no Man of Honour or Conscience could take this Oath, but he look'd upon it as such a Tie upon his Conscience, that he could never indulge himself in a Liberty to break it. This Oath requir'd nothing of them but what they understood, but what was agreeable to Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason, to what the very Heathen look'd upon as a real Truth, and such a one as was indispensibly necessary to the Security of any Government whatsoever; the contrary Notion really dethroning Kings, and making them as much Subjects to a foreign Power, and as obnoxious to the capricious Humours of their own Subjects, as the most abject of their own Vassals could really be to them.

Now the Import of that Oath to be taken by every Member of Parliament, before they could act there, was this:— I A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience, that the King's or Queen's Highness is the only supream Governor of this Realm, and of all other his or her Highnesses Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Things, or Causes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, within this Realm: And therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdic-
tions,

tions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preeminences, and Authorities, granted and belonging to the King's Highness, his Heirs and Successors, or united and annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.—Queen Elizabeth

indeed had so good an Opinion of the Honour of the Peers, that she would not lay the Burden of a formal Oath upon them. The Homage perform'd by them at the Time of their being call'd up to the House of Lords, and that perform'd to every new Prince at his Coronation, and the near Dependence of Men of Honour upon the King, who is the Fountain of Honour, might seem, with Respect to them, to supersede the Ceremony; but if it were so still, the Obligation of the Peers to be faithful to the Throne, is every whit as strong, as if they were oblig'd by a thousand Oaths.

It has been the Practice of all Governments too, when they have rais'd any Person to an Office in Church or State, or in their Armies, to require of them an Oath of Fidelity: For it's no superfluous Care, to endeavour to join Honour and Conscience together, to oblige Men in Trust to be faithful to their Masters. Only Bishops and Presbyters, in the primitive Times, were suppos'd so unlikely to be false to their Sovereigns, by Reason of the known Obligations of their holy Profession, that we don't find any Oaths, of that Nature, ever put upon them. For in those Days, it was never heard of, that a Christian Bishop should preach up the Doctrine of Resistance against their lawful Governours, or that it was meritorious to oppose them by Force; a Gnostic, or a Circumcellion, might adventure upon such Doctrines, or might appear among a Party of Rebels, or encourage a foreign Invader, to the Ruin of his native Country; but Christian Bishops, or Presbyters, had not then so learn'd Christ. As they were the Substitutes of him who was the Prince of Peace, so it was their Business to promote Peace, and to bring even Infidels into Love with that Quietness and Serenity which Christ's Religion introduc'd. Tho' barbarously and unjustly persecuted, they never encourag'd their People so much as to stand up in their own Defence; tho' I am ready to believe Tertullian, telling us, that the bare Retiring of the Christians out of the Roman Dominions, was enough to depopulate the Empire, than either profess'd Papists, or Papists in Masquerade, who would persuade us, that the Christians sate down quietly under persecuting Kings and Emperors, only because they wanted Strength and Numbers to oppose them. Nay, they serv'd as Soldiers under those very Emperors who were continually persecuting their Brethren and themselves; as the Thundering Legion under Marcus Antoninus, the Theban under Maximinian, the much greater Part of the Army under Julian the Apostate. Nor would the orthodox Bishops move any of their Friends to resist the Attempts of Constantius or Valens; tho' they were such notorious Encouragers of

of *Arianism*, and the barbarous Cruelties of those inhuman *Heresies* upon the Professors of the *Nicene Faith*.

We cannot now but conclude, that Honour in the *Peerage*, with *Conscience*, and *Conscience in the Commons*, with a *Share of good Sense*, must have had some Influences on all in the Days of King *Charles the Martyr*; and that all those who belong'd to the *Civil List*, and all such as were in any Command in his *Armies*, were bound, as far as Men could be, to be true to their Sovereign, not to enter into any Plots or Conspiracies against him, or his Heirs, themselves, nor to conceal any mischievous Designs of others against him, or any of his Royal Offspring, which they might by any Means come to the Knowledge of. They could not pretend to any *Coordinancy* with him who was their Sovereign, while they were his *humble*, his *loyal*, and his *fidelitous Subjects*, while they were but the *Three Estates*, the *constituent Members* of the *Parliamentary Body*, of which He only was the *Head*. They own'd his *Supremacy in all Causes*, and over all Persons whatsoever. If he was the *Supream*, none could pretend to rival him, but the very Pretence must make them *Traitors*; if he was not the *Supream*, then they were guilty of the most *treacherous Flattery* in the World, when they, calling God himself to witness the Truth of what they declar'd, own'd him to be the only *supream Governor, under God, of these Realms*, not dependent upon any other Prince or State, not obnoxious to their *Censures or Sentences of Condemnation*, much less to his own Subjects, who, having sworn *unconditional Fidelity* to him, (for they had sworn to him, before the *Coronation-Oath*, or any other, had been taken by the Prince to the People) must of Necessity be guilty of *damnable Perjury*, if they took up Arms against him, in the Sight of that God whom they call'd to witness the *Honesty and Sincerity* of their present Intentions; for tho' some *modern Factionists* have us'd us to the Talk of the *Sovereignty of these Nations being in King, Lords, and Commons*, yet the *standing Laws of these Kingdoms* speak no such Language; and nothing certainly can appear more absurd or ridiculous, than to see such as are *coordinate with the Monarch*, another pretty *Abundance* too, to stile him their *Great*, their *Dread*, their *Mighty Sovereign*, only to delude the People with an Opinion, that he is really so, and themselves his *humble and loyal Subjects and Servants*; a Complement which I don't remember that ever any King of *England* paid to the two Houses of *Parliament*, or that he call'd them his *Sovereign*, or himself their *Subject*, or that any King ever petition'd any one of the *Three Estates*, or all of them together, which was formerly the *Stile* of all *Parliamentary Acts*, viz: That such a Bill, with his most gracious Majesty's Consent, might pass into a Law, which is the *Stile* of the *Act of Recognition* before mention'd, and of that for keeping a solemn Fast on this Day. But the Oath of *Allegiance and Supremacy* not only extends to the Person of the *rightful King in Possession*, but to his

lawful

lawful Heirs and Successors, exclusive of all others; and to any Opposition made to the reigning King, or to his Queen, or to his eldest Son, the Heir apparent of his Crown and Dignity, or any Thing done to the Prejudice or Disinheritance of the King, or his next Heir, is High Treason, by the 25th of Edw. III. in which, at the Prayer of his People, and that they might be no more at Uncertainty in the Matter, the King himself authoritatively determin'd what should be Treason, and what prosecuted as Treason for the Time to come. A Statute still in full Force, but almost forgotten.

But, 4. Since all Members of both Houses of Parliament had taken that Oath to Charles the Ist. of pious Memory, before ever they could act as, belonging to any of the Three Estates in Parliament, in the Year 41, and yet two of those very three Estates, notwithstanding the sacred Obligation of their Oaths, did take up Arms against him, whom they had before God acknowledged their rightful and lawful Sovereign, prosecuted him by an open bloody, and unnatural War in the Field; and there try'd by any Means to destroy his sacred Person, and at length, by Divine Permission, and as a dreadful Punishment for our great and grievous Sins, got the better in the War, took his Royal Person Prisoner, drove his three Sons out of their Father's Kingdom, to which each of them in his Turn had an Hereditary Right, into a foreign Country to get their Bread, and save their Lives; and then, with an execrable and hellish Impudence, murder'd him, in open Day, before the Gates of his own Palace; which accursed Management laid the Foundation of all those Calamities which these Nations ever since have felt, and still do feel. Since the Temporal Lords and Commons of that Parliamentary Assembly, or rather the malignant Majority of them, have done all these Things, they either were desperately perjur'd before God and against their own Souls, or else they must have found out some Boyson, or some secret Method, by which they might be releas'd from the Obligation of any such solemn Oaths, tho' never so much in their own Power, never so just, customary, or lawful. We grant, that when any Man, either for Fear or Interest, takes any Oath unlawful either in its Matter or in its Manner, to keep or observe such an Oath, would be worse than the taking of it. And the best Satisfaction he who has taken such an Oath can make to God or his own Soul, is heartily to repent of his Sin, and carefully to renounce all manner of Obligation from it. Such was the Case of them who took that infamous Covenant in 1645. The Design of that Covenant was not to make good any of those Ends pretended in it; but the Rebels, finding themselves worsted every where by their excellent Prince, and conscious of their own Demerits from the Hands of their injur'd Sovereign, resolv'd to pawn their own Souls, and, if they could, the Souls of the whole Nation to the Devil, to bring in the Scots to their Assistance against him; which having effected, to the Ruin of the King's

Affairs, they quickly grew equally weary of the Scots themselves, and of their Covenant, and afterwards under the Conduct of their Darling Cromwel, paid them heartily for the great Service they had done them in that monstrous Rebellion.

But those who drew in the Scots by this Artifice, had sworn Fidelity to the King, and had acknowledg'd his Supremacy before. They had made Profession of the utmost Loyalty; and that they had no Design but to make him the richest, the greatest, and the most glorious King, that these Nations had ever enjoy'd; and when they had done all this, they then rebell'd against him, persecuted him, murder'd him. The King, in his last Visit to Scotland, had granted them so many Favours, that even they acknowledg'd that he had left them a contented People. They promis'd and engag'd, that they'd never again oppose so gracious a Master, upon any Account whatsoever; and the Earl of Leven in particular, had imprecated the heaviest of God's Judgments upon himself, if he ever bore Arms against him more. But for all this, O the Loyalty and Veracity of tender Consciences! the Scots ingrately took up the Arms of Rebellion again, ruin'd their gracious King and Benefactor, and Leven himself lead them to the War. It's worth our Enquiry then, *Who they were that for these Men free from all their Oaths and Obligations.* Not an Agent from Rome, I hope. No sure, Popery, or the Word Popery, with which they har'd the abus'd Multitude out of their Wits, and made them run head-long upon God, even upon his Neck, and upon the thick Buffes of his Bucklers. Alas! they had no Need of Nuncios from Rome; but they had a Crew of temporising Preachers; Men who brought down their Divinity to the Wick-edness of the Times; who made it their Business to blow the Trumpet of Rebellion, and to halloo a Pack of mad Dogs upon their Sovereign; Men who call'd themselves the purest of Protestants, who had taken all the securing Oaths then requir'd by the Government; but yet they were Men, who casting off all the Admonitions of Honesty and Conscience, whether as Priests or Subjects, broke their Oaths themselves, and then discharg'd all the fiery, malignant, revengeful Spirits, in both Houses of Parliament, from their Oaths, all the Commonalty of this Kingdom from the Doctrine of the Reform'd Religion, in which they had been brought up; and while they themselves directed and perswaded the commanding Rebels to strike the Basilic Wain, and told them, that Peace between Heaven and Hell was as likely to be procur'd, as between the King and them, they prevail'd with the unthinking Populace to receive all the Accusations their Malice had laid against the King with an implicit Faith; they so brought them to flock to the Standard of Rebellion, 'till they had hunted the Anointed of the Lord into their Nets, under whose Shadow all good Men hop'd they might have liv'd in Peace. The Scots too had their ranting Preachers, who could afford them of a thousand Oaths for the Sake of their abominable Covenant; as if adding Sin to

Sin

Sin were the best Way of atoning Heaven for Sins already committed; and a covenanting Hero could defy all the imprecated Plagues of Heaven, rather than not appear, as they then usually express'd it; *in helping the Lord against the Mighty*. Their Teachers were then in the same Strain with the Whirligigs of these Times, and durst print too what they preach'd, when they advis'd those who had no Swords to draw against their Sovereign, to fall their Coats, and buy some. Such Men could absolve the Infantry of Essex's broken Army in the West from that Engagement they had made, not to bear Arms against his Majesty for a Year, after he had given them their Lives and Liberties, and could incite them to fight so much the more furiously in a wicked Cause, as they had been fortunate Partakers of their compassionate Sovereign's unmerited Mercy. These were no Roman, but apostatizing British Preachers, who having no Fear of God before their Eyes, but being instigated by the Devil, did what no Roman Priest had ever given them a Pattern of. Some modestly reserv'd the Power of dispensing with the Oaths of Subjects to their Princes, to the Pope only: Every one of these assum'd that Papal Power to himself; and without any visible Remorse, pawn'd their own Souls for the eternal Safety of those, whom they sent as fast as they could head-long to the Devil. Woe be to those unhappy Wretches, who give up their Souls to the Conduct of such impious Miscreants! Woe to the World, because of Offences; but much more Woe to them, by whom such Offences come!

It has been a common Notion among Casuists, That no Man can be releas'd from an Oath made to another and his Heirs, the Matter of which is lawful, and impos'd by lawful Authority, unless he be either under an absolute Impossibility of keeping it, or have a full and free Discharge from the Person concern'd. It's true, the Death of all the Parties concern'd, puts an End to the Obligation without any more ado: While the Parties live, they may hold the Person who has sworn to the Performance of his Promise, and he cannot go off from the Obligation of it, without scandalous Perjury. There may be a great many pretty Tricks put in Practice, to evade the Obligation of an Oath; but God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain. That Oath which was taken by the Members of Parliament to Charles the First of blessed Memory, they never were releas'd from by him: And if it were possible for any Number of Men whosoever, to make a true British Parliament, without a King to call them, or without the People to chuse them, they could not remit the Obligation of any such Oath; nor can a thousand Parliaments, how regularly soever constituted, either bribe, cajole, or threaten Almighty God so far, as that he should not call all those to a dreadful Account, who break their lawful Oaths in any Particular. If you in a just Cause have pass'd a solemn promissory Oath to me, and to my Son, in such or such a Case,

I may discharge you of the Obligation to my self, but I can't discharge you of that to my Son; and he may acquit you of your Engagement to himself, but not of that to me. But if I can discharge my self of such an Obligation, upon Pretence of any imaginary Necessity, there's an End of all Confidence between Man and Man, between Debtor and Creditor, between Princes and their Subjects, nay and between God and Man. I can with an ill Grace accuse my Prince with the Breach of of his Coronation Oath, when I my self am every Day breaking the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy; and as for the *Original Contract*, tho' the Supposition of it would do no Service here, it's as putrid a Popish Fable, as either that of Purgatory or Transubstantiation. I can allow that the Government, upon a just Occasion, may change the Form of these Oaths requir'd for its own Security; but though that Alteration may be of Force for the future, it can't change the Nature of Oaths already taken. But if, as the *Rebels pleaded in the great Rebellion*, and a great Number argue now-a-days, though we take never so many Oaths to any King, *rightful or an Usurper, good or bad*, we owe him Allegiance, as I observ'd before, no longer than he is able to protect us. As it's a fair Warning, to a wise Prince not to put too much Confidence in the solemn Engagements, much less in the flattering Addresses of their Subjects; since if this Resolution be good, our Saviour's Argument would be very much weaken'd; for he may have had an earthly Kingdom, and yet his Subjects, if the *Jews* appear'd too strong for him, might have lawfully enough refus'd to fight, to hinder his being deliver'd up to them. But our Master's Argument was certainly sound and good; therefore *Charles the Martyr* being the undoubted lawful Monarch of these Kingdoms, and all Persons born or naturaliz'd here, being his natural Subjects; and all Persons concern'd in Parliament, and all Officers Spiritual, Civil, or Military, having, in the Names of themselves, and the whole Body of the People of these Realms, taken the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy to him, and to his lawful Heirs and Successors, from which they never discharg'd them; and neither themselves, nor any other Authority, Spiritual or Temporal whatsoever, could release them, they ought to have fought for him against every Enemy; but they forgetting their Duty, and fighting against him, the

Enquiry of Course must be, *Whether all those who were his natural Subjects, or who had sworn to him, and to his Heirs, all Obedience and Fidelity, when they took up Arms against him, seiz'd the Power over the Militia, seiz'd his Lands, Revenues, Palaces, Ports, Castles, Ships, Arms, and Ammunition, and turn'd them all against him, hunted him as a Partridge in the Mountains, took him Prisoner, murder'd him, were not, in every single Action of this Nature, perjur'd Rebels and Traytors?* Now certainly, if Treason makes a Traytor, and rising in Arms against our lawful Sovereign, makes

makes a Rebel; and the notorious Breach of an Oath, taken solemnly in the Presence of Almighty God, be Perjury; all these Things meeting together in that Crew of bloody Miscreants, who brought about the shocking Tragedy of this fatal Day, they must be such. I am very far from charging all of the three Estates in Parliament with the Guilt of that sacred Blood which was this Day inhumanly spilt, tho' perhaps at first the Ears of most of them were too open to the Complaints and pretended Grievances of the discontented Faction, and were so unwarily ready to cut short the Prerogative of the Crown, that when they grew sensible of their Error, their Error was irrevocable, and their unhappy Master was no longer in a Capacity to protect himself or them. I know that many were from the Beginning, and in every Particular, that Prince's faithful Servants; Servants not to be byass'd by any tumultuous or insolent Complaints, or outward Outcries; and many who were hurry'd away at first with the popular Torrent, came afterwards to themselves, try'd resolutely to stem that raging Tide, which themselves had unfortunately help'd to raise above its usual Mark, and dy'd bravely at their gracious Master's Feet. But I do here, with every good Christian and honest *English* Subject, arraign the Memory of that ungodly *Juncto*, the stinking Rump of an once lawful Parliament; or, as the Act for keeping this Fast authentically styles them, -- A Party of wretched Men, desperately wicked, and harden'd in their Impieties; who having plotted and contriv'd the Ruin and Destruction of this excellent Monarchy, and with it, of the true Reform'd Protestant Religion, which had been so long protected by it, and flourish'd under it, found it necessary, for the perfecting of their abominable Designs, to throw down all the Bulwarks and Fences of Law, and to subvert the very Being and Constitution of Parliaments, that so they might at last make their Way open to any farther Attempts upon the sacred Person of his Majesty himself, &c. What Methods these accurs'd Wretches pursu'd farther, the same Act of Parliament takes Notice of, and assures us, That they were as far from being true Protestants, as they were from being true Subjects. -- Notwithstanding all the Noise they made about the Danger of Popery, from whence *England* never was at a greater Distance, and arbitrary Power, which none endeavour'd to introduce but themselves, as we see common Pick-Pockets and Burglars are apt to cry *Thieves* first; a Piece of Policy which the present Generation have not quite forgotten yet. Here then we see the most zealous of Protestants destroying all Religion; Men of pretended tender Consciences breaking thro' all Oaths, and all, either Legal or Christian, Obligations; the sober Party, as they call themselves, transgressing all the Limits of Sobriety and good Nature; loyal and dutiful Subjects, raising Forces against the only, lawful, higher Powers; Guides of Consciences, and Men entrusted

entrusted with the Cure of Souls, hurrying them down into eternal Woes; and striving, even to an Agony, not for that Faith which was once deliver'd to the Saints, but to break all Faith with God and Man, and to enlarge the Boundaries of the Kingdom of Darkness.

We find then, in the most impartial Account of the Transactions of these Times, every particular Thing, which had been declar'd Treason by the 25th of *Edward the IIIrd*, committed by these traiterous Hypocrites; War wag'd against the King himself, and him imprison'd and murder'd; the Queen, his royal Consort, impeach'd of Treason, not for any real Misconduct of hers, but for her Adherence and Affection to her King and Husband; the Heir apparent of the Crown forc'd to fly into foreign Countries for his Life, a Price set upon his Head, and, to own him, or to proclaim him King of his own natural Subjects, made High-Treason; all who were but suspected to have any Regard to his Rights, taken up, imprison'd, sequestred, try'd by their hellish High-Courts of Justice, and cruelly executed, only for Performance of their Duties; Privy-Counsellors were impeach'd, try'd, attainted, murder'd for such Actions, as for which, no Law then in Being could touch one Hair of their Heads; the King's Great Seal set aside, and one made by the Rebels themselves, and every Man compell'd to make use of that; the Royal Mint seiz'd, and Money coin'd with their own Achievement, and not the Image or Supercription of *God*; not to mention the entire Demolition of the reform'd Episcopal Church of *England*, and the Subversion of its Hierarchy, and one of his Majesty's greatest Estates in Parliament, High-Treason against the Son of God, the great King and Head of his Church, though not made Treason, by the fore-nam'd Act against the King of *England*; Rebels then we have here fighting against their lawful Sovereign, Traytors plotting to destroy him and Monarchy together, seizing upon all his Regalities, and stripping him of his Children, and of his Life; and perjur'd Rebels and Traitors we have, as having broken the Oath of God, which they had freely taken to their Sovereign without any Remorse or Hesitancy. Having then, from the Statute for observing this Day, found that the Managers of the great Rebellion, and of the execrable Murder of *Charles the Martyr*, were really and irrefragably perjur'd Traitors and Rebels, when we remember how much of brave, pious, and heroic Lives, beside that precious Life of the best of Kings, were lost in hot or cold Blood, in the Fury of that unnatural War, these Considerations will bring us, in the

6th Place, not so much to enquire, as positively to determine, that all those who lost their Lives in the Field, in the Service of their rightful Prince; and all those who suffer'd upon the same Account, by the Hand of the Executioner, by the Command of the prevailing Rebels, were barbarously murder'd; and so the Guilt of innocent

innocent Blood was brought upon their own Heads, and the whole Nation, who, though neither Judges, nor Prosecutors of these, yet look'd on and silently suffer'd it; the great Power of those who enslav'd the three Nations, might, in some Measure, lessen the general Guilt, but nothing can possibly abate of the flagrant Guilt of the capital Rebels. We know that there are some Wars very lawful and justifiable, in which many must necessarily fall on both Sides; yet, while the Subjects fight under the Command of their own natural Princes, and have nothing to do to inquire into the first Motives to the War, they are not look'd upon as Murderers on either Side; but for a private Centinel, newly listed, and who had not yet taken the military Oath, to kill an Enemy, unless it were purely in his own Defence, was accounted Murder among the Romans; and the Man severely punishable by the Rules of their military Discipline; nay, they were as hardly dealt with, who attack'd their Enemies before their General had given the Word; and if there was any Reason for this Rigour, what Punishments ought they to suffer, who fall foul of their Fellow-Subjects, against the positive Command of their Sovereign, or his Generals? All the People of these Kingdoms were, as I shew'd before, the King's natural Subjects; they were all equally under his Protection; his Laws observ'd were sufficient to keep the Peace among them; and none certainly can be faulty, indeed, for adhering to the Person of the King, and obeying the Laws then actually in Force. The fundamental Laws of these Kingdoms are, by no means, contrary to the Laws of God, or of Reason; if any Law can be prov'd so, it's actually null and void, tho' enacted by never so great and united Authority. Those who without any lawful Commission, fight with and kill their Fellow-Subjects, for maintaining their present Laws, which are the only Laws in Force, and for assisting their Prince in putting them in Execution, must be Murderers, under what other Pretence soever they shed Blood. He who dies wrongfully, tho' under Pretext of Law, is really murder'd, much more is he murder'd who is kill'd by his Fellow-Subject, against all the Laws of God and Man.

It has made some Disputes among Men of Piety and Learning, whether, under the Christian Economy, it were lawful for the civil Magistrate to make Use of the Sword, or to put any to Death for the greatest Crime; whether these Disputes have been reasonable or not, all those who dy'd for their Fidelity to their God and Saviour, were look'd upon as murder'd, tho' their Persecutors took their Lives according to Laws then in Being, or occasionally enacted by the Prince; and were therefore call'd Martyrs, such Decrees being contrary to the Laws of God: What Guilt then must they have contracted, what Damnation must they have drawn upon themselves, who, in Defiance to the fifth Commandment, in Defiance to all the Obligations laid upon them by

by the blessed *Jesus* and his Apostles, that they should follow Peace with all Men, that they should submit themselves, whether to the King, as Supreme, or unto Governors, as those who are sent by him; not only for Wrath, but for Conscience Sake; in Defiance of all the Laws of a Nation, made by the free and full Consent, and at the humble Petition of their unbrib'd, unmercenary Representations, could draw the Sword of Rebellion against their lawful Governors, and their Christian Brethren, who honestly stood up in Defence of our excellent Constitution, and the Person of their pious Sovereign, *Charles the 1st*, who did his Part; he appear'd in the Head of his honest and faithful Servants, and expos'd his precious Life to all the Dangers of the bloody Field, to rescue them from the wicked Designs of cruel and blood-thirsty Men. Now every Motion these Men made in all that unnatural War, to destroy the King, or his faithful Servants, were Treason; every Person who dy'd in Defence of their Prince, and his just Authority, their Blood being shed without Authority, and against Law, were wickedly murder'd; but above all, those were murder'd with the most solemn Circumstances of Impiety, who being envy'd for their Goodness and Wisdom, or taken Prisoners on the Surrendry of Garrisons, or in the Field of Battle, were attain'd, sentenc'd to Death, and villainously executed, for daring to do what the known Laws of the Kingdom requir'd of them, and all this under the odious Title of Rebels, Traytors, and Murderers; but if they call the Master of the House *Belzebub*, what will they not presume to call his Servants? Thus that noble and great Earl of *Strafford* was taken off in such a Way, that the Murderers themselves were afraid, lest, in better Times, their horrid Wickedness should be drawn into Precedent against themselves. Thus, again, that worthy, zealous, and learned Asserter of the Protestant Cause, Arch-bishop *Laud*, was martyr'd by no better Authority than an Ordinance of the pretended House of Commons; a House so far from being a Court of Judicature, that, as a House, they can't so much as administer an Oath. Thus dy'd the valiant and loyal Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and many others, the Glories of their own honourable Families, but to the eternal Disgrace of a rebellious and unconsidering People. These were all murder'd; and those, again, who, at the Instigation of false Teachers and notorious Traitors, dy'd with their Swords in their Hands, against their God, their King, and their Laws, were by those who drew them in barbarously murder'd, and eternally damn'd together, and their Blood and their Souls will be requir'd of them, and all who are related to those desperate Principles on which they went in that black Rebellion, of this Generation.

For whatever ignorant or time-serving Divines, Lawyers, or Statesmen, in Confederacy with them, may preach, or plead, or practice; none but *Papists* ever formerly laid down such Principles as the Rebellion in 41, or the Murder in 48 were carry'd on by;

by; and none but *Papists* or *Atheists* can ever seasonably defend them. The State of Nature, the Original of Power from the People, and Princes being only their Trustees, and deposeable whenever the People suppose them unfaithful to their Trust, were Notions tolerable, it may be, in Heathens, who had no better Light than what they found among themselves, of whom Mr. *Hobbs*, that great Oracle of many of our modern Divines and Politicians, says truly enough, — There are several Books written by *Roman* Citizens, during the Flourishing of that Commonwealth, or soon after it was turn'd into a Monarchy again, and by *Greek* Authors, during the Prosperity of the *Athenian* Republick, full of such Precepts and such Examples, as serve only to render the Minds of the Populace inveterate against Monarchical Government; and that for no other Reason, but because in those Books they find the foulest Villanies perpetrated by perfidious Wretches, as particularly, the Murder of Kings highly prais'd and recommended, especially if they had but fix'd the Name of Tyrant upon them, before they kill'd them. But the Thoughts of the Vulgar are yet more corrupted, by reading such Books, and hearing of such Sermons, as subject the Regal Authority to any other. So that, when they have serv'd the Ambition of others in killing their Kings, they are ready to fancy that they do God good Service. — To prevent which Mischief in elder Days, *Sophocles*, the Son of *Amphiclides*, made a Law, that 'no Philosopher should presume, upon Pain of Death, to open a School, 'till he got a Decree of Leave from the *Athenian* *Diog. Laert.* Senate and People. — And *Plato* thought not fit, in *Theophrastus*, that any Poet should dare to make any Thing that intrench'd upon the Laws of the Commonwealth, or to represent any such to the Publick as honest or good. Nor should it be lawful for him to shew any thing he had written to any Person in private, 'till such Time as those who were appointed to be Judges in the Case, and who were empower'd to put the Laws in Execution, should *De Leg. l. 7.* have perus'd and approv'd it. — But we need not go no farther than our own Histories, to shew how insecure the Government of Princes must needs be, while the Lawfulness of resisting rightful Princes by Force of Arms, is openly asserted; and a Man may wonder, that those who have the Word of God before them, to consult and call themselves Christians, should dare to talk of what they call a State of Nature, and to deprive God himself of the Honour of being the sole Founder of all Government, and therefore of Monarchy in particular; and where they have no one Instance of Rebellion against idolatrous Princes, for their Idolatry, even where the Law of God himself made it Death, without Mercy, for any to worship Idols; where the great Captain of our Salvation never inlisted any into his Service, in Opposition to his own Vicegerents, and himself and his Apostles thought it necessary to put all private Christians in Mind — To

be subject to Principalities and Powers: — A Charge equivalent to that of being instant in Season and out of Season; and where Men of good Parts and Sense are forc'd to make such Interpretations of inflexible Texts, as the Glosser of the Canon Law made upon the Word *Statuimus*, when he explain'd it by *Abrogamus*. If Sovereign Princes have any Regard to their own Safety, they can never look on the Preachers of such Doctrines, but as a Parcel of factious and seditious Men, who study to embroil all Governments, and would fain keep the Crown always in Pupilage to themselves, under the Name of the People, and make every Man a competent Judge of the Male-Administration of the Sovereign.

If the Broachers of such Notions did not by the People always understand themselves, it were impossible that *xxxix* *Kogax* *Q* *na* *xay* *ay* should tell us of the People's expecting some Things, which, if their Votes were gather'd one by one, would not amount to a two hundredth Part of them. I'm pretty confident, that there's no Warrant in the whole Book of God, for People calling their Princes to an Account for their Misgovernment, nor is there any Need of such a Power in them. We are infallibly assur'd, that *Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, from the North, nor from the South, but it's God alone who puts down one, and sets up another*. He therefore is the sole competent and righteous Judge of the Miscarriages of Princes; and he who made them, let them be never so great, can make his Sword approach to them, and to he deos; *Saul* had no sooner forgotten his Duty to God, but, though the People took no Notice of it, God rejected him and his Family from reigning over *Israel*, deliver'd him up to be insulted by the common Enemy, and gave his Throne to the Son of *Jesse*, the Man after his own Heart; and no sooner had *David* sinn'd, as an unjust Tyrant and Adulterer, but tho' *Israel* murmur'd not, God gave a Commission to the Sword to savage his Family, and made him fly from his Capital City, to escape the unnatural Cruelty of his double Rebel *Abalom*. *Solomon* had no sooner indulg'd his idolatrous Wives and Concubines, but God rais'd him Enemies; and as a Punishment to him for his Ingratitude, sent ten Tribes of twelve from his indiscreet Son. And where Heathen Kings and Emperors grew Persecutors of the Church of Christ, he found Means to punish them according to their Deserts. In this Kingdom the Usurpation of *Henry the First* was visited in the Loss of his Heir's Male, and his Daughter's never coming to the Crown herself. *Stephen* left no Heir behind him. *Richard the First*, tho' a great Man, yet having been in Rebellion against his King and Father, was kill'd in a Siege, and dy'd childless. *Edward the Third* having, tho' not of himself, rept into his Father's Throne too soon, lost the best and bravest of Sons in his declining Years, and had his Grandson, no vicious Prince, pull'd down by his Kinsman *Henry the Fourth*. *Henry the Fourth's* Son was taken away in his full Career of Victories; and his Grandson, a Prince

of

of excellent Parts and Piety, for the Sins of his Grandfather, depos'd and barbarously murder'd. *Edward the Fourth*, a lewd, ambitious, perjur'd Prince, had his Cruelty and Falshood to the House of *LANCASTER* reveng'd by the untimely Death of his two innocent Sons, by the traiterous Contrivance of his own Brother, and the sad Calamity of that Brother's unnatural Usurpation.

It's granted that, as in many of the Cases mention'd, God sometimes permits Subjects to be the Instruments of his Judgment upon their Kings; *Jehu*, by particular divine Commission destroy'd *Jeram* and *Ahaziah* in one Day; and *Jeroboam* had Leave from God to strip *Rehoboam* of the greater Part of his Kingdom. So he punish'd several of the persecuting Roman Emperors, such as *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Valeman*, *Julian*, *Valens*, by their Enemy, or mutinous Armies, or treacherous Friends, or by his own more immediate Stroke; but God never made Use of any good Man in these strange Works of his; the Executioners of his Wrath were Men of loose or no Principles, either religious or civil; such Rods as were fit for nothing but to be cast into the Fire, when God had done with them. Again, sometimes an impious, degenerate, and ingrateful People, for their loud crying Sighs, are permitted to destroy the rest of their Princes with their own Hands, as not deserving to be govern'd by such excellent Men; so the Jews brought that incomparable Prince *Josias* to his End; God was resolv'd to destroy *Judah* and *Jerusalem* for their Wickedness; *Josias* was that *Lot* who stood his revenging Hands, and was to be remov'd e'er the King of *Babylon* could do any thing. The Roman Empire, degenerated from their ancient Christian Zeal, was to be ravag'd by the barbarous Nations; but *Gratian* was first to be taken away from the Evil to come; *England* was to be mark'd out for Vengeance, but that Saint-like King, *Henry the Sixth*, with his hopeful Son, must be cut off, e'er *Edward's* Lust, or *Richard's* Usurpation, could come on. *Edward the Sixth* must be destroy'd, before popish Cruelty could shew itself again in its proper Colours. And *Charles the First*, a Prince of unparallel'd Piety and Virtue, must be turn'd out of his Throne first, and then out of the World, before the fanatick Rage of Enthusiastick Traitors could take Place, or Hell be quite let loose in Perjury, Treason, Rebellion, Murder, Usurpation; or the most exquisite Tyranny in the World could, according to their Demerits, harass a stiff neck'd, unthankful, hypocritical Generation; though, after a dismal Interval, it pleas'd God, in a miraculous Manner, to send the Martyr's rightful Heir upon his Father's Throne, and, with him, to restore our ancient Laws, and our reform'd Religion, to its former Honour and Pre-eminence.

God then concerning himself so far in the Affairs of Nations and Kingdoms, especially theirs who profess his holy Religion, why should Men be covetous of the Character of the worst of Christians? Why should they pawn their Souls to Hell for that which they miscall the publick Good? Who has requir'd this at
 E 2 their

their Hands? Has God no Care of his People when they suffer? Must they do themselves Right, for fear they should find no Justice with him? Have they ever found Rebels prosper long, or Revelations tend to the Peace and Prosperity of any Nation? If Men repent heartily of their own Sins, and seek humbly to that God, in whose Hands the Hearts of Princes are, is it impossible that he should rescue them from their real Troubles? Did not he change *Manasseh* from an idolatrous and cruel, to an excellent and truly Protestant Prince? Could not he give *Mordecai*, and his Country-Men, Favour in the Sight of *Ahasuerus* King of *Persia*, and the Christians Peace from all their Persecutors, and *England* Deliverances from the Fury, both of *Papists* and *Fanaticks*? But if we'll do all for our selves, without any manner of Dependence upon Heaven, or any Regard to the Precepts of Christianity; if we'll plot and rebel against our lawful Superiors, murder our Brethren in hot or cold Blood; if we cannot bear Virtue in high Degrees, but must blacken and vilify the Characters of Princes, we shall soon be fill'd with our own Devices, and going on still to do wickedly, we shall suddenly be destroy'd, both we and our King.

But being call'd this Day to humble our Souls before God, for that Sin in which *pretended Protestants* out-did the utmost Extravagancies of *profess'd Papists*, which I mention, not to excuse or extenuate the dangerous Principles of Popery, but to lay in open View the Practices of Atheists and Hypocrites; give me Leave, as *Anthony* did before the *Romans*, when he made *Caesar's* Funeral Oration, to lay before you the bloody Robe of our *British* murder'd *Caesar*. *Charles* the 1st of blessed Memory, the Son of Kings by a long Descent of many Generations, upon the Demise of his Father, was, by the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, joyfully receiv'd as their lawful and rightful Monarch, and, as such, receiv'd the Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* from all such as the Law requir'd should take it. He was a Prince of the greatest personal Virtues of any Christian Prince in many Ages; he never set his Subjects an Example of Lewdness, Epicurism, Intemperance, Cruelty, Revenge, Swearing, Blasphemy, Profaneness, or any other Immorality whatsoever; we don't pretend that he was a Man without Sin, but that constant Watch he kept upon himself would not let him be guilty wilfully of any. He was so steady in the Protestant Religion, as establish'd in the Church of *England*, that all the Arguments and Artifices of *Spain*, all the Fondnesses of a Wife, all the Ingratitude, Perjuries, Treasons, and Rebellions of those who pretended to be the greatest Zealots for the same Religion (the most dangerous Temptations in the World) could never alienate him from it. His Justice and Tenderness for his Subjects, shew'd it self upon every Occasion; and, for fifteen Years together, while the Spirit of Faction was in some Measure kept down, no Nations under Heaven were more happy, or more flourishing than these were, under his peaceable and auspicious Government.

But

But this Man, and this Peace, was what Hell envy'd, and what Rome could not bear with; and which wicked and ungodly Men could not look on, without the most dreadful Apprehensions which ever tormented guilty Consciences: On this Man therefore they resolv'd to be reveng'd. The Sons of Belial, those hellish Jugglers, cast such a Mist before the Eyes even of some well-meaning Men, that they, for some Time, believ'd it possible, that a sincere Protestant might bring in Popery; and that a Person who himself observ'd the Laws in the greatest Exactness, might design to bring in Tyranny and arbitrary Government. The Rebels, as they then design'd to be, if they could not compass their Ends other Ways, threw so much Dirt upon the Royal Character, rais'd so many Suspensions and Jealousies of the King in the Minds of his Subjects, that his Innocence and Goodness could no more protect him, than they could protect his bless'd Master before him from the Fury of the Jews. They try'd first to persuade him to unking himself, by the Propositions they made him, when they thought him wholly incapable of opposing them. They try'd to blast his Reputation and Honour among Foreigners, and at Home they insinuated his Want of Parts and Abilities, who had one of the soundest and best turn'd Heads for Argument and Business in *Christendom*, as they, who had believ'd the Scandal, found, when they had the Happiness to converse with him. For any Man then to supply his King with Men, Money, or Provisions, with a Crew of desperate Traitors, was Treason; for Clergy-men to preach up the Duty of Subjects to their natural Prince, to move any to petition for Peace, and to stand by the untainted Doctrines of the Church of *England*, was the highest Malignity, and rewarded with Sequestration or a Prison. When they had once got their King into their Hands, they'd not allow him the Use of his own *Chaplains*, the Attendants of his own *Friends* or *Servants*, or the Use of the *Common Prayers* of the Church, in which he might address himself to his Maker; while he who had breath'd nothing but Peace to them who delighted in War, even when he was in his highest, and they in their lowest Circumstances, and was spending his Time in holy Meditations, and pouring out his humble Soul to God in Prayers for his obdurate Rebels and Persecutors. If ill Air, and ill Usage, and ill and disagreeable Company, could have kill'd him sooner, it would have sav'd the Rebels much Trouble and much Scandal; but the last his natural Goodness conquer'd, and the other God's wise Providence put by for a while, to let the World see how far Royal Patience, and rebellious Wickedness, when left to it self, might go. He who so much lamented his own Weakness in giving Way to the Murder of his faithful *Strafford*, could never have been capable of Cruelty himself: No, the Family of the *STUARTS* were always merciful, as many, who little deserv'd it, have experimentally found.

Think then, my Brethren, that you see this great, this good, this wise, this religious, yet brave Monarch, before a Herd of

Down Men of no Birth, no Worth, no Honour, an independent perflouging Lawyer, under the Name of Justice, when they nick-nam'd an *High Court of Justice*, a set of one-throat Rebels, accus'd by a mercenary Wick, own him for one of the best of Men and Princes, and yet demand that he *must die, and Monarchy with him*. See that venerable publick Face fearfully put upon, and all the Affronts and Injuries put upon a King, which an ill-bred, ill-natur'd Soldier know how to offer him, and himself patiently wiping off the Spittle, and expecting no other Repentment of their Rebellion, but Pity. See him brought at last to the Scaffold, as a Lamb to the Slaughter, to die a Martyr for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of his People, undaunted yet, and unconcern'd at the horrid Prospect of a violent Death. Think on those wise and gracious Words he there utter'd. Observe his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, and his Soul more pleas'd with a near View of that immortal Crown of Glory to which he was from thence call'd, than it had ever been with the greatest Lustre of an Earthly Crown. Observe the Emulraries of *Rome* rejoicing, and the Exultations of triumphant Hypocrites, while Floods of Tears roll down the mournful Cheeks of his poor desolate Friends, and of all honest and sincere *British* Christians. All pious Hearts were shock'd at the fatal Blow. Christianity it self felt deadly Convulsions at it; and the very *Jews* themselves, whose malicious Activity had laid their Sovereign's sacred Head at the Feet of a Company of Godless Murderers, were almost ready to relent, when it was too late to save their Prince's Life. Bring but these Things to Memory, my Friends; reflect impartially upon them, and continue hard-hearted if you can. But I see there are some here, who are so far from grieving for the Sufferings of the Royal Martyr, that they would have their Serpentine Followers always biting the Heels of Monarchy, and making Subjects, who act in Christian Measures, Affes. They long for another Carozz of Royal Blood; they don't really like any one King better than another, but hate Monarchy; flatter their Prince to blind his Eyes, but would rather have a Commonwealth than him. Let this kindle themselves a Fire, and delight themselves in the Sparks of it, may but God at last forgive the crying Blood of this gloomy Day. May he graciously forgive our Enemies, Persecutors, and Sland'ers, and turn their Hearts. And that they may be Subjects capable of that Pardon, may they make Haste to turn to their God with sincere Repentance. Our publick Affairs have got into a cloudy Aspect, and we but indifferently furnish. That we may divert God's threatening Vengeance; that the yet unopened Eyes may never see the horrid Sin of this Day; that we may be a Nation, let us learn, before it be too late, to live in the Faith and Fear of God, in our Loyalty and Obedience to our lawful Sovereign, and in Brotherly Love and Charity one towards another. *Glory God of his Mercy grant. Amen.*

